1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

554 595 gradually gaining more and more actual importance in the household. She is now well on the way to being a serious rival of Elizabeth as nominal mistress of the household. All of this is not to say, however, that the rivalry between the women of this polygamous household has as yet, at least, reached the point of open hostilities.

159 Miller himself is a forceful personality, known far and wide by reputation in the Barama country. To some extent this reputation is the result of the following series of exploits, partly told me by Miller himself, partly by other Indians, and by Mr. Pestano. About 1920 Miller, his brother Alec (who now lives at Haiari), and their father visited a cassiri spree at Towakaima settlement. The spree was given by an Indian, one Robert, an older man with an attractive young wife. In the course of events the discerning eye of Miller observed the charms of Robert's wife, and Miller devoted most of his attention to her. About midnight the spree came to an end, as such affairs usually do, with the exhaustion of the liquor supply, and the participants betook themselves to their hammocks. Robert escorted his wife to her hammock, which was near his, but when she thought that her husband was asleep, she got up and repaired to a prearranged rendezvous with Miller in the bush near the settlement. Robert woke up, noticed her absence, searched her out, and proceeded to give her a terrific beating. Miller objected to Robert's beating the woman, to which Robert retorted that he was well within his rights (as he was) and that he intended to do the same with Miller when he finished with his wife. Thereupon Miller attacked the old man who, with the strength of an outraged husband knocked Miller down. (This part is omitted in Miller's version of the tale.) Attracted by the commotion, Miller's father and Alec, his brother (who is the tallest man I measured in the territory), joined in the fight against Robert. As Robert was being overpowered, he seized his cutlass and lashed out, giving them several wounds, the scars of which are still visible on Miller's and Alec's faces and bodies. Miller and his kinsmen replied with their cutlasses and soon had beaten Robert to the ground. Robert's older son was a coward and fled into the bush, leaving his father to the mercy of the attackers. Blood was over everything. But Robert had a little boy about six years old who did not run away. Robert also had a muzzle

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

loading shot gun lying on the loft poles of his house, ready for powis shooting the next morning. The small boy secured this weapon during the course of the fight, without anyone observing him, and aimed at Miller's head. Being so small, he was unable to hold the gun steady, but, as it was, the charge of buckshot caught Miller in the left arm at a range of a few feet, putting him out of commission for the time being. Thereupon the boy ran away into the bush. Alec and Miller's father followed in a towering rage, but were unable to find the boy, so they returned to the scene of the battle and finished off old Robert by cutting him to pieces with their cutlasses, after which they buried him in a hole in the ground and disappeared into the bush. Robert's kinsmen went down river in canoes and reported the fight at the Baramanni police station (now abandoned), which stood at the confluence of the Baramanni and the Waini. In about six weeks Miller, Alec, and their father, who had been hiding in the bush, were captured by the police and taken to Georgetown. Miller was given a three-year jail term, twenty-six months of which he spent in the hospital, undergoing a complicated series of operations which have left his arm a stiffened mass of scars. His left arm is thus permanently bent at the elbow, and the fingers of the hand are immovable, but, in spite of his handicap, Miller remains one of the best huntsmen in the village and is respected by all for his cunning, courage, and strength.[1] Not only has Miller established a strong position for himself personally and politically, but he is now learning the piai technique from old David, and upon the latter's demise will doubtless succeed David as the village religious official.

[1] The account of Miller's adventures in white civilization is not unilluminating as a note on acculturation as it affected one Carib at least. The story of his experiences in Georgetown was one of the few subjects which Miller could treat connectedly in pidgin English. He repeated it to me in almost precisely the same form every time he got drunk, which is to say a good many times in the course of the four months I knew him. I give it here with some emendations in his own words as I took them down on one occasion: "Dey put me inside hos-pee-tal an me go sleep like after me all-same drink plenty cassiri. Dey put me inside night-shirt. Me no like! But gal in hos-pee-tal — dem gal in white dress — dey nice, dey hold me hand, rub me head, put glass ting in me mout. But dey no get inside bed with me. . . Hos-pee-tal all same done. Me stay inside jail long time. Me no like. Inside jail dey give me good bread, good meat. But de night — no fire, cold! Me tink me for dead wit cold. . . Den governor tell me for go home. He buy me [with the careful pronunciation of one who has memorized an unfamiliar list] hat, collar, necktie, shirt, pants, shoes. An he give me one piece paper [ticket] for walk on big korial [steamer] Morawhanna side. An he give me *good* ration — six cake cassava, two pound salt fish, one pound sugar, an two dollar cash. Two dollar, panari! . . ." "What you do with two dollar?" "Me have *good* time, panari, good time. First ting me buy one moto car wit one dollar. Me walk all about Georgetown inside dat car. Den me buy one black gal, nice black gal, panari, pretty black gal, man! Me buy for one night." "One dollar?" I ask skeptically. "Yeh. One dollar. But she keep me pants, me shirt, too. Me no care, me no get dem ting inside bush. On big korial me play with black men. Dey got dem little ting, how you call? dem ting wit black spot on dem. One man take me shoes, me hat. Me no care. Me come home." Miller at least has the necktie as a souvenir of the generosity of the government and at this point he opens his pegall and exhibits the neckpiece proudly.

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

159 To complete the picture of the immediate Miller family, we must mention the five children, four of which are Miller's offspring by his deceased wife. Adoph is Miller's oldest, perhaps ten or eleven years. Charlie, about the same age, is the son of Miller's deceased wife's brother. Julia, about seven years old; Pipi, about four; and a baby girl, about three years old, are all Miller's daughters by his former wife.

583 Miller's house stands roughly in the center of his clearing. Grouped around his house in more or less satellitical fashion are the structures housing three other families. Caroline, a younger sister of Miller, is a jolly matron of perhaps thirty-five years. She is the female jester of the settlement, a position which she filled too well for the liking of her former husband, one MacDonald, who now lives at Powis Hill with another woman. Her two young boys live with MacDonald at Powis Hill, her two girls stayed with their mother. It seems that Caroline and MacDonald were living at Kwamata until they broke up their marriage about a year ago, after which Caroline and her two girls repaired to Sawari to be under the protection of Miller. Shortly before my arrival at Sawari, a young man named Henry, Caroline's junior by perhaps twelve years, visiting his brothers Samuel, Columbus, and Henry Daniel of Sawari, attended a cassiri spree at Miller's house. At this time Henry, for reasons best known to himself, decided to become the husband of Caroline, although he already was the husband of a woman in Kurewa settlement. In this decision, as in many others, the hand of Miller was apparent. Aside from a fraternal interest in the happiness of Caroline, Miller also has reason to surround himself with sturdy young men who can cut fields and build korials for him, activities in which he is handicapped by the condition of his arm. According to the gossip of the village, therefore, Henry was won over by promises of cutlasses, knives, axes, and other trade goods. This bait, together with the proximity of his brothers and a quarrel with his Kurewa wife, apparently influenced Henry to remain, and accordingly he set to work to build a house for himself and Caroline. As it became apparent that Miller did not possess the trade goods which had been so slyly mentioned, it was evident that Henry was taking a more and more half-hearted interest in the arrangement. When one-half of the house roof was finished he joined a group of men

III

SETTLEMENT PATTERN AND POPULATION SIZE

175 From 1932 to the present, the core of Carib people who have
162 remained in the Upper Barama River area have been recruited from the indigenous population.[1] The continuity of the 1970-71 population with that existing in the Upper Barama River area during 1932-33 is readily apparent. First, one person in present at both time periods.
• 159 Charlotte[2] was an adolescent wife of John Miller, the headman of
621 Sawari, when Gillin made his study (1936:118). She is now a widow in her late fifties and lives with her two daughters and son-in-law at the Air Strip. Charlotte's son by Adolphus Miller, who took her as a wife when his father died, is also present. Two other children of John Miller, a son and a daughter whose mother was Charlotte's sister also are in residence at the Air Strip. These relationships are summarized in Figure 5.

Tracing the continuity in a different manner, Rosa Jacob is about
[602] sixty years old and is a prominent resident at the Air Strip. She can recall a kinship relationship to all of the other residents. She is a cross cousin to John Miller, his father's sister's daughter. Of
162 course, all of these people except Rosa are deceased. Exact relation-
602 ships among all individuals in the population cannot be established as memories are shallow regarding kinship. Nevertheless, it can be safely assumed that all members of the Upper Barama River Carib

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 38]

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John Cook was probably the same age as Miller (Gillin 1936:125-8). Several years ago upon the death of his first wife, he was attracted to Savari out of his friendship with Miller. He consequently took a kinswoman of Miller as a wife.[1] As Cook became established in Savari, he attracted men in his own right. As he did so, his friendship and cooperation with Miller waned. Expressive of this rift is their discontinued participation in a common cassiri spree,[2] the one form of public activity including ritualized behavior. During Gillin's visit, Cook's group ceased attending Miller's cassiri sprees but held their own. In addition to Cook, there were three men in his clearing. These included his half-brother Daniel and his half-sister's husband, Henry Daniel, who is also a fourth brother to the group of three in Miller's clearing. Also, a man named John, about thirty-five, had moved his household to Savari on the basis of his friendship with Cook. All of these men together had cleared a field and had the use of respective plots in it.

[527] [476]

The third clearing was that of a single man, Edwin, who was also a contemporary of Miller and Cook. Edwin farmed by himself. However, indifferent to the enmity between Miller and Cook, he assisted both of them at times with other tasks such as constructing a cassiri kanu and a woodskin boat. Gillin suggests that Edwin's failure to attract a group around him is due to his lack of leadership qualities (1936:127-128). It is also clear that Edwin at this point in time does not have the same advantage as Miller and Cook regarding marriageable female relatives with whom to negotiate these satellites. His oldest child was a male about sixteen. His other children were daughters under twelve years of age.

[476]

000 this work. With regard to hunting, all the game killed by a partic-
*177 ular gun, regardless of the marksman, is considered to belong to the
422 gun's owner. This obtains even if the owner is not along on the
224 hunting trip. After keeping what he wants of the catch for himself, the owner of the gun distributes the rest among the hunting party.

*177 The only instances in which women enter into immediate exchanges
432 with other Caribs involve the selling of pots.[5] Prices vary from $3.00 to $4.00 a pot. The number of exchanges has been small, and the potter is always the seller. No pots have been sold among the residents of the satellite settlements. At the Air Strip, two women have engaged in this enterprise.

*177 The first potter is Anna Abraham, a temporary resident at the
323 Air Strip. She makes her pots in Piai Creek where she has located a
• 159 reliable source of clay. Male members of her household carry the pots on their backs to the Air Strip. Her pots are particularly noted for cracking and leaking, making it necessary for the purchaser
*177 to melt balata over them as a repair. Even so, during the first year
432 of her residence at the Air Strip, she sold nine pots, both tuluwa
159 and tuknwali varieties. Six pots were sold for the use of different women in the households of the Captain, the prominent Councillor, and Baird's father-in-law. The other three pots were sold to her sister and her sister's daughter. However, there was controversy regarding the exchange with her sister. The sister's household claimed they did not have the money to pay for the pot.

*177 Charlotte is the second potter. She is the same person Gillin
159 records as being the youngest wife of the headman of Sawari. Now
323

*177 • 159 323 she is a dependent widow and lives with her two daughters and son-in-law in his father's clearing. Her pots are particularly noted for being lopsided, making them easy to identify. She was the first to attempt to locate a suitable clay source at the Air Strip. She makes only tuluwas and has sold four at the Air Strip. Three were sold for the use of the mother of the man in whose clearing she resides and one for his sister.

*177 593 431 The only cases in which pots were presented as gifts between clearings involve exchanges between mother and adult daughter. These are actual mother and daughter pairs. Classificatory relatives are not included. These gifts were made in four cases during the period of observation and are an aspect of the sustained generalized reciprocity between mother and adult child in different clearings. Exchanges between mother and adult son usually involve food. However, these exchanges are not formalized in any way and they do not always occur between specific mother and child pairs.

*177 592 [621] In sum, the pattern of cooperation among adult individuals residing in the same settlement has been eroded by the introduction of wage work, other markets, and a money economy. The household composed of an adult man and his wife or wives and children remains the primary cooperative economic unit. However, the household has been extended in various instances to include the adult son or son-in-law and their families. The sustained flow of mutual assistance among a wider circle of kinsmen no longer exists as a common pattern.

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*177 476 624 There is one exception to this pattern which has relevance only in its situational context. As the miners re-established bush farms,